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1971

WRL NEWS

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WOMEN'S CALENDAR

The 1972 Peace Calendar, "In Woman's Soul," is a collection of statements by women who over the years, have engaged in the struggle for peace and social justice. Illustrated by the work of women artists, it represents the collective efforts of several women involved in the anti-war movement, rather than a lone individual.

Because of increased printing costs, we have had to make a slight increase in price. Single copies are $2.25; $6 for three and $12 for six—post paid. Order now. (The Calendar should be available around November 15.)

FALL OFFENSIVE

OCTOBER 13 — Moratorium Day throughout the nation. Organize the closing of schools, work pauses, no shopping, local rallies.

OCTOBER 25 — Mass nonviolent action in Washington, D.C.

NOVEMBER 6 — Regional rallies across the nation.

WRL members are urged to concentrate now on the October 13th Moratorium. Full information on the October 25 and November 6 projects will be sent first class mail. In addition there is discussion about a special civil disobedience action in Washington D.C. to dramatize the daily death toll of Indochinese —dates for this are not certain but full information will be sent as soon as available. You can also write or phone our office for information or contact the local WRL or local Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice.

BICYCLE CARAVAN ON TAXES

Starting September 27 at Orono, Maine and ending on the eve of Thanksgiving Day at Andover, Massachussets, northeastern headquarters of the Internal Revenue Service, the regional group of War Tax Resistance will conduct a bicycle caravan. Along the way, riders will engage in discussions, distribute tax resistance literature and participate in vigils.

Initiated by War Tax Resistance, the caravan is co-sponsored by WRL, New England CNVA, Catholic Peace Fellowship and Episcopal Peace Fellowship. Anyone interested in participating, either part-time or full-time should write New England CNVA, RFD 1, Box 430, Voluntown, Conn. 06384. The tour will pass through all the northeastern states.

LAND & WATER PICKETS AT ARMS SHIPS

Photo by Gary Gaines

Two ships loaded with U.S. armaments for Pakistan were picketed on land and water July 14-15 in Baltimore and July 23 in New York.

When the PADMA arrived at Pier 8, Port Covington, Baltimore, it was surrounded by a small fleet of canoes and kayaks and seven of the paddlers were arrested on charges of "interfering with naval passage and disobeying a police officer." Pickets also marched in front of the pier.

But the big news was that the dock workers, members of Local 829, International Longshoremen's Association, refused to cross the picket ilne, in compliance with orders from ILA President Thomas Gleason dispatched from Miami. So, after two days the PADMA departed without loading the Balitimore portion of its lethal cargo.

On July 23 when the SUTLEJ arrived at Pier 36, East River (New York), it was met by land pickets and by a fleet of two rowboats and a canoe. Unlike in Baltimore, the waterborne pickets were not arrested. But also, unlike in Baltimore, the longshoremen ignored the policy of their international union president and proceeded to load the ship.

For about a half hour, those of us picketing the dock had a fruitful dialogue with the longshoremen through a mesh-wire fence. (see photo)

Our dialogue was halted abruptly when the aperture in the wire fence was deliberately blocked off with a row of three large-sized cargo containers. In midmorning a memorial service for the East Pakistani murder victims (then totaling since March 25 some 200,000) was held at the entrance to the pier. Both the Baltimore and New York demonstrations were initiated by Friends of East Bengal.

Guerrilla Theater at Airline

On September 10, in front of a Fifth Avenue skyscraper, eight "dead" persons with bloodied bandages around their heads, lied on the sidewalk. Behind them, stood two men holding a big model airplane painted black and a placard which said "World Airways." Located in this skyscraper, World Airways, America's biggest private air freight and charter company, has been flying armaments

(continued on page 2)

WRI ON NORTHERN IRELAND

"WRI condemns the arbitrary arrests and internments without trial in Northern Ireland and reaffirms its conviction that the situation cannot be solved by military means. We are particularly concerned at the arrest of many members of the Peoples Democracy and Civil Rights Association, who, far from being gunmen, were campaigning for people's rights through nonviolent action. We support the call by the Peoples Democracy for a campaign of nonviolent resistance against internments and demand the immediate release of all of those interned.

"We urge British soldiers in Northern Ireland to refuse to carry out illegal orders or orders that contravene human rights such as the beating of prisoners and suspects (of which there is now firm evidence), participating in dawn raids on people's houses, arresting people for internment without trial, and shooting unarmed civilians. WRI will assist as far as it can any soldiers who openly declare that they have a conscientious objection to remaining in the army, or who refuse to carry out orders against their conscience.

"We urge our sections to put pressure on the British Government to withdraw its troops from Ulster and seek a just political settlement in Northern Ireland based on people's right to self-determination and the ending of colonial and neo-colonial relationships with any part of Ireland. In furtherance of these aims we intend to organize a leafleting campaign among British citizens, troops, and tourists."

ENROLLMENT BLANK

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, N. Y., N.Y. 10012

WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY.
I THEREFORE AM DETERMINED NOT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR, INTERNATIONAL OR CIVIL, AND TO STRIVE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL THE CAUSES OF WAR

signature

address

city

state *zip code*

LAND OF WATER PICKETS (con't)

to Pakistan. Heading the company is a retired Air Force general, Howard Estes. WRLers who want to write a protest can address it to him c/o World Airways, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The guerrilla theater protest was sponsored by Bangla Desh Action Coalition, a new joint group including the Friends of East Bengal, which sponsored the ship picketing and others. Heading the coalition is Igal Roodenko, WRL chairman.

Operation Omega

That's the name of a project initiated in England by WRI, *Peace News*, Manchester Community Research and Action Group, and Action Bangla Desh to distribute food and medical supplies inside Bangla Desh (formerly known as East Pakistan) but without seeking permission from the Pakistan government.

According to *Peace News*, September 10: "Operation Omega's #2 team completed their first aid-giving mission without incident on Monday last—crossing the border in an area where the Pakistan Army is no longer in control, distributing food to last 800 people for three days and returning to India for more supplies. Omega's #1 team crossed the border at Petrapol (as they had before) but were stopped by Pakistan Army soldiers and led away out of sight of observers. On Tuesday evening it was learned that they had been imprisoned in Jessore. The objective of this team was to defy the authority of Pakistan over Bangla Desh and imprisonment was expected."

Contribution checks for this project should be made out to Operation Omega and addressed to: WRI, 3 Caledonia Rd., London N 1, England.

A Pamphlet and a Booklet

THE U.S. RESPONSIBILITY IN BENGAL (*Liberation*) 20c
EAST BENGAL: ROOTS OF THE GENOCIDE (Friends of East Bengal) $1
(Written by Aijaz Ahmad, both are available from the WRL office)

An MP Who Busted WRL Pickets Says: Never Again

by DAVID ZIMMERMAN

On May 3 I was assigned to a demonstration against the Vietnam war and U.S. weapons development. This took place at Sandia Army Base in Albuquerque, which was one of the primary centers for creation of the original atomic bomb and subsequent nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, I was not one of the persons demonstrating against the war or the bombs. I was functioning as an MP charged with insuring that the protestors did not disrupt traffic or attempt to come on the base. If they should, I was to arrest them.

As a draftee, my sentiments were with the protestors, not the military. When the inevitable arrests occurred, I was forced to take into custody several persons. During the long time span between the arrests and the "disposal" of the prisoners, I had an opportunity to talk with several of the protestors. They were polite and intelligent. They were members of the War Resisters League, or sympathizers. They explained that they believe in Gandhian nonviolent resistance to injustices and gave me a "Practice Nonviolence" tag which basically explained the ideas of the WRL.

I was very much impressed with their ideas and determined to find out more about WRL and Gandhi in relation to my own ideas. One man gave me a WRL pamphlet from which I cut out the enclosed membership coupon. Since that time, I have done extensive reading about Gandhi and quite a lot of thinking about my relation and beliefs toward war.

I no longer can accept war as a rational course for man. I now feel being a member of WRL can help stop this insanity. Please give me any information available as to what I can do to help and anyone in Albuquerque I can contact concerning WRL and doing something.

My thinking also has solidified to the point where I no longer can cooperate with the military and with war. I am preparing an application for a CO status. In a few weeks, I shall refuse to carry a weapon and shall apply for a discharge. I no longer can rationalize my presence in an organization developed solely for human destruction. It's time now for me to do whatever possible to stop wars and oppression.

Meeting those persons on that day in May was a significant juncture in my life and I thank them. I'm sorry I had to arrest them and I plan to never again participate in a demonstration in such a capacity.

THE WRL CONFERENCE

by JERRY COFFIN

This year's annual conference began inauspiciously with an auto accident on the way which landed guest speaker Barbara Deming, staff member Peter Kiger and member Frederic Smedly in a Virginia hospital. (Barbara Deming, the most seriously injured, still is in and can be written: Duke Street Hospital, 709 Duke Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314.)

The conference itself was, on the one hand, less communitarian than last year and on the other hand more productive. Because of the physical location—we were spread out over the large University of Georgia campus in Athens, Georgia—and lack of recreational facilities the only time we gathered as a group was for our general sessions. As a result the informal group discussions and play which were such an important part of our previous conferences, were missing.

Another aspect of the Athens conference was an attempt to structure our conference more than previous ones. This helped us to be more productive but also tended to make us "stiff and formal." We were a less friendly conference than we wanted to be but we did feel our common concerns and we did move forward.

Each WRL national conference has moved the League further in the direction of democracy. Each one has helped make the League more responsive to the needs of local WRL organizers. This year we continued the process. The first annual conference decided to create a natonal committee to make basic organizational policy decisions. The second conference created a mechanism for electing the national committee on a democratic basis with members elected by regions and each local WRL having its own representative on the committee. This year the national committee met for the first time and adopted a solid program aimed at continuing the growth of our network of local WRLs and creating and channeling resources to our local groups.

The conference opened with a welcome by the Athens Student Mobilization Committee, our hosts, and our Southern Regional office, the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, which did much of the conference organizing work. Longtime WRL member Jeannette Rankin (the only member of Congress to vote against *both* world wars and the only person in Congress to cast a vote against WW 2) addressed the conference on her concern for democratizing American government through proportional representation. Our chairman Igal Roodenko talked of his recent four-month speaking tour. In his talk he emphasized his sense of hope for the social change movement in America and the immense diversity of actions being taken by WRL members and others to further our goal of a just and peaceful society.

In later sessions we heard from Carl Ferris of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who spoke on our conference theme: "to strive for the removal of all the causes of war." Essentially he dealt with the interrelationship of the movements for labor, civil rights, and peace. He spoke of how each of the movements had strengthened the others. National Committee Member Beverly Woodward Kiger read Barbara Deming's speech "Are Pacifists Willing To Be Angry?" As noted earlier, Barbara was injured on her way to the conference and was unable to be present. Copies of Barbara's speech are available from our New York office for 25c postage. David McReynolds spoke on his recent trip to Japan and North Vietnam. A report on that trip is elsewhere in this issue. Shelly Ramsdel of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War discussed the role of veterans in the struggle for peace and justice.

For me the guts of the conference were the reports given by the seven of our local WRL groups which were able to send representatives. Each group reported on their activities over the previous year. While each report was distinct and different there were common threads. One was constructive program. All the groups were attempting to build alternative institutions at the same time as they were confronting established ones. The constructive programs ranged from alternative Life Funds for War Tax Resisters to child care centers. Direct action plays an important role in all our local groups and most groups have extensive literature and outreach programs.

In my view the growth of the WRL local organizing program over the last few years has been a positive influence on WRL and the nonviolent movement. It's been a major factor in freeing the League from the burdens of the past which so often lead to organizational stodginess.

The national committee meetings which took place during the conference confirmed my view. We decided to undertake programs on Bangla Desh, concentrating on support through participation in the WRI's Operation Omega (described elsewhere in this issue).

The national committee discussed how federal grand juries are being used by the Justice Department to repress movements for social change. Burt Wallrich, our committee member from Denver was asked to prepare an article on this for the next issue of WRL NEWS. Also in the next issue of WRL NEWS we'll have a report on war resisters in prison which Larry Gara, our committee member from Ohio was asked to prepare.

Our international work including relations with the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and our own War Resisters International was discussed. It was hoped that WRL locals and our individual members would try harder to relate to the International scene. One way of doing this is to subscribe to the WRI publications *Resistance* (Quarterly magazine) and WRI *Newsletter* (monthly) by writing WRI, 3 Caledonia Road, London N1, England and enclosing five dollars for each publication.

Members who would be interested in attending the WRI Triennial Conference, next summer in England, are invited to submit their names to the national committee. Five delegates will be chosen by the national committee and they probably will have to pay or raise their own fares. Any member of the WRL may, of course, attend the Triennial as an observer, in addition to the five elected delegates.

PEACE BUS ON NEW TRIP

On September 27, the Peace Bus will leave California on a slow, cross-country trip, with its destination, Tampa, Florida. There, the bus will make the first of a series of prolonged stays.

As Crew Member Julie Matthaei writes: "The bus will stay in communities for two or three weeks so that we really can acquaint ourselves with the people and the situation, and have time to help with the actual groundwork for setting up alternatives. We will stay long enough so that people can really share, not just lay raps on each other.

"If you are interested in having the bus in your area sometime this year, or would like information, or if you have some information or experience to share, contact the Peace Bus as soon as possible so that we can work out our traveling schedule. Our mailing address is: The Free School Bus, 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, Calif. 94709."

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REFLECTIONS

By DAVID MC REYNOLDS

On July 29 I left New York for Tokyo, stopping a day in Moscow, and after nearly two weeks in Japan at the Gensuikyo Conference Against A & H Bombs, flew to Hanoi for eight days. Because of the nature of the trip I want to discuss some of the implications of the changing world situation for pacifists.

It is not, I think, much of a secret that my own opposition to Communism runs very deep. My political education was gained in the worst period of Stalinism, when Communism was a single Church, Stalin the Pope, and Moscow the New Rome. It is difficult and perhaps impossible for radicals who have entered the movement in the last ten years to understand either the attractive power Russia had for Communists around the world, or the terible revulsion it created among non-Communist radicals. For Communists, Russia was holy ground, a place where the new society was literally being created, where the foundations of utopia were being laid, and this justified terrible sacrifices. The recent enthusiasm of the New Left for Cuba is only a pale reflection of the worldwide loyalty Communists everywhere gave to Moscow.

In October, 1917, it is fair to say that virtually every radical—from anarchist to socialist—supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Starting at an early point, however, the dream began to tarnish and by the time of the purge trials and mass executions in the 1930's it had become a nightmare. To the Bolsheviks, whatever advanced the revolution was moral—lying and killing were not seen as moral or immoral in themselves, but only in relation to the struggle. Non-Communist radicals held moral beliefs independent of a belief in revolution itself, and thus judged the Soviet Revolution by those values and found it a betrayal.

I have taken space for this brief summary because WRL, as a pacifist organization with ideological roots in both the socialist and anarchist movements, has been very clear over the years in its non-Communist orientation, and its opposition to totalitarianism. For us there are no "progressive" nuclear bombs, and the authoritarian state is a form of violence against the human personality. I have fully shared this position of the League, this determination we must oppose both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. If anything, I have been more abrasive than others in expressing that position.

"Mixed Feelings About The Trip"

Therefore I had mixed feelings about agreeing to be a delegate for the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice at the Japanese conference and about the trip to Hanoi. The air expenses were paid by the Japanese and since the Japan Communist Party runs Gensuikyo, the air tickets were on Aeroflot, to Tokyo via Moscow. For three weeks then, I found myself relating to Communists, their organizations, conferences, and countries.

I am glad I did go if only because it is good to lay old devils to rest. Standing in Red Square in Moscow it was possible to gain a certain perspective. These are not the days of Stalin. Russia is no longer the center of a world revolution, just an oppressive nation-state dominating Eastern Europe through the power of its arms. There is modest prosperity, many new buildings, and above all a certain shoddy ordinariness about the city, as if it were a slightly run-down Stockholm, that helped remind me that bad as the invasion of Czechoslovakia was, the U.S. invasion of Vietnam is far worse; wicked as it is to jail poets and writers, we have hundreds of youth confined to our prisons for crimes of conscience; evil as anti-semitism is, we must keep in mind our racism. I do not suggest that one evil justifies another—only I remind myself that we live in a world where, if we hold absolute standards, we find ourselves opposed to virtually all states but also, precisely because no nation claims our absolute allegiance, none is entitled to our unremitting hostility.

There are deeper questions that arose in the course of my trip, and these I want to share. First, we should realize we are existentially closer than we may realize to those who use violence. In Japan I took part in a long discussion with a delegate from Angola, active in the violent struggle to liberate Angola. Suddenly the man broke down and began to weep. On the table in front of us was the revolutionary literature, with its hard lines, its easy categorization of people into good and evil, and there before us was a man weeping bitterly. He finally pulled himself together and explained: "I am sorry, but you see I had many good friends in Lisbon, many very good friends who helped me, and the decision was very hard to make, but we must take part in armed struggle against the Portuguese." For this man, violence was not a cheap slogan but a personal tragedy and it was in that instance that I realized that different as our methods of struggle were, we were united by the struggle and the realization it meant suffering and tragedy.

"Drift of CP Toward Independent Positions"

Of longer range significance is the drift of Communist parties around the world toward independent positions. With the Soviet-Chinese split something very fundamental rocked the monolithic world Communist movement. Previously national parties did not have to think about or discuss basic questions of philosophy—the line came from Moscow. Suddenly every party had to choose between Moscow or Peking —or choose independence. What A. J. Muste termed a "polycentric Communism" has continued to develop and inevitably has had very deep implications, involving the introduction of humanist elements into a rigid Marxism. This has been the case with the Italian Party and was certainly true of the tragically aborted Czechoslovak experiment with its "socialism with a human face," and seems true also in Vietnam and Cuba. The reason for this gradual opening of the windows of the heart rests very much in the fact that once debate about some questions became necessary (i.e., whether to align with Russia or China), debate about many other questions became inevitable.

The great tragedy of the world socialist movement was its betrayal of its own cause by supporting the various

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FROM HANOI

national governments in World War I and the subsequent split in the movement after the Russian Revolution. This was a tragedy keenly felt by A. J. Muste and by Norman Thomas, both of whom would have welcomed a reunion of radical and socialist forces. No such unity was possible as long as Moscow demanded absolute obedience. It was that demand, as much as the debate over the tactics used by the Bolsheviks, which split the international movement. Nor can any such unity now be restored—too much has changed, everywhere in the world, for any person to think the socialist and communist movements can simply be put back together, creating in each country a united left. But the basis definitely exists now for dialogue and for new relationships. In Japan, for example, the bitter feud between the Socialist and Communist parties has been laid aside in three cities to elect Governors backed by both parties (including the Governor of Tokyo, where 11 million people live). The kind of experiment A. J. Muste tried in 1957—"The American Forum for Socialist Education"—which brought together Communists, Socialists and Pacifists, was premature but it was not wrong. As was often the case, he had seen the future before the rest of us.

"A People Remained Remarkably Gentle"

Turning to Vietnam I must say frankly that I was deeply moved and deeply disturbed. I had gone expecting a certain rigidity, a certain brutalization because of the long war. Instead, I found a people who have remained remarkably gentle despite the violence, a people deeply given to a humanist outlook. The friendship demonstrated to us was not a mere show. When Joe Urgo, a Vietnam Vet, left the war Museum (which chronicles the long Vietnamese struggle for national independence: against the Chinese, the French, the Japanese, and now against us), the man who had guided us shook hands with me and with Judy Lerner of WISP but turned and embraced Joe, hugging him again and again, fighting against the tears, because here were two soldiers who had fought on opposite sides, meeting as friends. In our meeting with Premier Pham Van Dong there were again the friendly gestures to each of us (including his gentle statement "I have nothing to give you, but I will take the roses from the vase and hope you will each accept one"), with the traditional kiss on both cheeks, but when he came to Joe he held the embrace and hugged him several times. A political gesture? Or a human one? If you have been in Hanoi you will know their politics is suffused with human concern.

Here are people who use every weapon of violence available to them to drive us from their country, but for some reason remain human—perhaps it is their Buddhist tradition. I do know it confounds some of my—and our—pacifist beliefs and reminds us again that the way of nonviolence is not the way of dogma, but of pragmatism, of learning from experience. And it is perhaps well to remind pacifists who insist that the North Vietnamese and the NLF are "equally guilty" for the violence because they do not declare a cease fire that it was Gandhi who said violence should be used rather than submission to tyranny, if one lacked the strength for nonviolence. Gandhi also who said he was willing to see India run red with blood as long as it was Indian blood and not that of the British. And Gandhi who, when asked by a Western reporter why he permitted women to carry their babies with them into nonviolent battle with the British troops, responded that it was better for a child to be clubbed to death by a British soldier in the struggle for freedom than to survive and live under British rule.

In terms of those who suffer violence, it makes no difference who employs it—death is death. But violence leaves its marks also on those who survive, those who used it against others, and here I think we must recognize that oppressive violence has a different impact on society than defensive violence, that America has been deeply divided and demoralized by its violence in Vietnam but that the North Vietnamese at least, remain very much united with high morale.

"My Moral Support To Liberate"

For my own part I would have to say now that I do not equate the violence of Saigon with that of Hanoi, but offer my moral support to all forces, violent and nonviolent, that struggle in Vietnam to liberate their country. I count myself a comrade with the Buddhists, the NLF, and Hanoi. Does this not mean, then, that I have blurred all distinctions between violence and nonviolence, and that only my cowardice keeps me from taking up a gun myself? No, I do not think this is the case, but rather what makes us comrades is that we are joined in a struggle and our disagreement is over the tactics we use. But, on a deeper level, I think nonviolence —the vision of a society that is more deeply human and liberated from violence—is essential. If pacifists turn to violence we betray, paradoxically, those who now use violence in self-defense or for revolution .Within their hearts and minds, with their whole being, I believe they would like an alternative but see none. Our position is their dream, the utopia toward which they stumble, caught up in violence. If we accept violence for ourselves, we have betrayed their dreams as well as ours, the hope of a genuine revolution will begin to die and within humanity a final light will have gone out.

I return from Hanoi more deeply committed to nonviolence and yet in real, existential and personal terms, very close to the Vietnamese people including those who use violence. I do not know if this will be understood here in America, but I think—I hope—that this paradox may make sense to the friends I met in Hanoi.

A final note: if we are genuinely opposed to the continued violence in Vietnam, our appeal should not be to the Vietnamese, to stop defending their own country, but to deepen our nonviolent actions to end America's involvement. The violence of revolution occurs in response to the oppression and injustice of the "old order" and the greatest hope of preventing "defensive and revolutionary violence" is by ending the violence of oppression and exploitation. If we do not act in that way, others, in Vietnam, Cuba, Pakistan, Indonesia, etc., pay the price of our failure.

The Bangla Desh Tragedy Is Our Responsibility

by PRAFULLA MUKERJI

It really is sad that after six gruesome months of massacre of at least a half million defenseless men, women and children of Bangla Desh by the West Pakistani army, indiscriminate destruction of towns and villages, and a reign of terror causing seven million homeless people to seek refuge in neighboring India, there is so little awareness in America. If measures are not taken very soon to resolve the crisis peacefully, a global conflict might well be the outcome.

Perhaps the war in Indochina has hardened us all. But who in his right mind can cherish the thought of another Vietnam in Bangla Desh and another Indochina in the Indian sub-continent? Both India and the United States are very much involved, though in completely opposite ways—India, trying to stop the aggression; the U.S. helping the aggressor. Both share responsibilities but in different ways. The seventy-five million people of Bangla Desh are kin of the people of India. It is the machinations of British imperialism and religious fanaticism which caused the separation of the two areas. The people of India cannot be indifferent to the fate of the people of Bangla Desh. They have sympathy with the rightful aspirations and demands of the people of Bangla Desh and are willing to help them. The influx of over seven million refugees has created a serious problem for India. It is beyond the capacity of the poor villagers in the border territories to give food and shelter to so many people. Soon the indigent villagers will feel the pinch and become resentful. A blood bath might well result. How would India face such a situation? Indians must give serious consideration to this possibility.

"The U.S. Has Been Sending Arms"

What about the Americans? What are their responsibilities? For many years the U.S. has been sending about ten million dollars worth of arms and ammunition each year to West Pakistan—mostly bombers, and munitions that the West Pakistani army used to massacre the people of Bangla Desh. Even today, as the massacre continues, the U.S. supplies shiploads of arms and ammunition regularly to West Pakistan, despite protests from India and from responsible Americans, like Senators Fulbright, Kennedy, Church, Representatives Gallagher, Ryan and prominent newspapers like the *New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor.*

Are we to conclude that the U.S. Government deliberately is encouraging the fascist military dictatorship of West Pakistan to continue its path of brutality and thus make war between Pakistan and India inevitable? Can there be any other explanation? Perhaps the policymakers of the U.S. calculate that through war they can control the entire Indian subcontinent, as they figured that through war they could control all Southeast Asia. Already President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan is threatening war. He recently said: "I shall declare a general war and let the world take note of that . . . if India continues to train the guerrillas."

On March 25, Yahya Khan outlawed the Awami League and sent between fifty and sixty thousand troops to Bangla Desh with arms, bombs and bombers, mostly supplied by the U.S. In a reign of calculated terror the West Pakistani army killed hundreds of thousands of men, women and children with bombs and machine guns. They abducted the popular, democratically elected leader, Mujibar Rahman. They also killed or captured many others who had shown any sign of leadership. All foreign newsmen were expelled. Communication with the outside world was cut off. Thus began savage massacres by the military forces of West Pakistan. Up to this date over seven million homeless and terrorstricken men, women and children have crossed the border to neighboring India to seek safety, shelter and food. Every day this agony of a whole people grows more intense.

It is evident that the crisis cannot be terminated by more suppression, repression and massacre. It can be terminated only by acceding to the demands of the people. This is a responsibility of the international community. The military dictatorship of West Pakistan has not been responsive. Pressure of public opinion backed by economic sanction may bring results. We must demand that the national election held in December of 1970 be honored. The people of the U.S. must ask their Government to stop all military and economic assistance to West Pakistan until it has settled, peacefully, its differences with Bangla Desh. Disturbing news comes from the border areas every day. The latest is that thousands of dead fish have been found floating in many ponds, the only source of water for most of the villages, indicating that the water has been poisoned. There is grave suspicion that West Pakistani saboteurs have infiltrated into these areas with the refugees This has created great panic among the villagers. The government of India is under constant pressure from Parliament and newspapers to take "effective" measures. No humane government can be indifferent to the plight of these villagers nor can it turn a deaf ear to the cries of the helpless refugees—the victims of brutal repression.

"To Find A Peaceable Solution"

The government of India has expressed its sense of disappointment at the indirect support the U.S. Government has given to the atrocities by the military dicatorship of West Pakistan. Such a policy can be interpreted only as an unfriendly act against India, in spite of the protestations of Ambassador Keating. Perhaps it is for this reason that India has signed the Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union, which provides that "the two countries will hold mutual consultations and take appropriate and effective measures in the event of an attack or threat against either country by a third country." Hopefully, this will not change India's long standing policy of nonalignment.

The United Nations was created "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures for prevention and removal of threats to peace." But the United Nations so far has failed to take any action, presumably on the ground that Bangla Desh is an internal affair of Pakistan. West Pakistan has perpetrated genocide in Bangla Desh with active support and help of at least two other nations and has forced millions of terror-stricken people to take refuge in another country. This situation has created great international tension and now threatens international peace. Certainly, this cannot be called merely an "internal affair." We have a right to demand that the United Nations earnestly undertake without delay to find a peaceful solution for Bangla Desh, one in which the people themselves will have the opportunity to decide their own future.

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